

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE  
DES ÉTUDES DU SUD-EST EUROPÉEN

# ACTES

DU II<sup>e</sup> CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL  
DES ÉTUDES DU SUD-EST EUROPÉEN

(Athènes, 7—13 mai 1970)

TOME II  
HISTOIRE

TIRAGE A PART

GENGİZ ORHONLU

THE HISTORY OF ATHENS  
(TÂRIKH-I MEDÏNETÜ'L-HUKEMÂ)  
WRITTEN BY A TURKISH KADI

ATHÈNES 1972

D.B.NO: 06420  
YER NO: 06412



**ÇEKÜL KÜTÜPHANESİ**

DEMİRBAŞ NO. 016420

SINIFLAMA NO.

016412

BAĞIŞCI

GELİŞ TARİHİ

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE  
DES ÉTUDES DU SUD-EST EUROPÉEN

# ACTES

DU II<sup>e</sup> CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL  
DES ÉTUDES DU SUD-EST EUROPÉEN

(Athènes, 7—13 mai 1970)

TOME II  
HISTOIRE

TIRAGE A PART

GENGIZ ORHONLU  
THE HISTORY OF ATHENS  
(TÂRIKH-I MEDÎNETÜ'L-HUKEMÂ)  
WRITTEN BY A TURKISH KADI

ATHÈNES 1972

THÈME - CADRE 2:

VILLE ET CAMPAGNE DANS LE SUD-EST EUROPÉEN  
DEPUIS L'ANTIQUITÉ JUSQU'À LA FIN DU XIX<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE  
(ASPECTS SOCIAUX, ÉCONOMIQUES ET CULTURELS)

---

## II. COMMUNICATIONS

GENGİZ ORHONLU

Turkey

THE HISTORY OF ATHENS  
(TÂRIKH - I MEDÎNETÜ'L - HUKEMÂ)  
WRITTEN BY A TURKISH KADI

Ottoman historiography has been divided into different sections, one of which is concerned with the history of cities: in other words, urban historiography. More than one history has been written about cities like Istanbul, Bursa, Edirne, Amasya, Konya, Isparta, Belgrade, Baghdad, Aleppo, etc. When the work of classification in Turkish libraries has been more or less completed, a further number of works are likely to be brought to light. A manuscript about the city of Athens was recently discovered at the Library of Topkapi Saray Museum (Revan, No. 1411)<sup>1</sup>. It bears the title of *Târih-i Medînetü'l hukemâ*, an English translation of which reads «The History of the City of Wise Men». This designation has been repeatedly quoted by mediaeval Moslem historians in references to the city of Athens. The work was composed in the Ottoman period — after the year 1738.

While describing some details about his personal life, the author of this work does not unfortunately mention his name. He originally belonged to a family which lived in Thebes (Istefe) and the island of Euboea (Egriboz). When he was officially appointed *kadi* of Athens, his family were still living in Euboea (MS. 267). He began his education under the guidance of learned members of his family — an education that was nevertheless inadequate in comparison with the corresponding standard of education prevailing in Istanbul. According to the author,

---

1. This work was published with a short commentary (Topkai Sarayı Müzesi kütüphanesi Türkçe yazmalar katalogü, İstanbul 1961, Vol. I. p. 326) by Fehmi Ethem Karatay, who mistakenly believed *Târih-i Medînetü'l-Hukemâ* to be a translation. The author of *Târih-i-Medînetül'-Hukema*, however, states (p. 2a, 8a, 127a, 147a, 229b, etc.) that his work is a compilation, except the last section (MS. 262 b-291) which is an eye-witness account by the author.

the ultimate aim of education must be «to spread knowledge», that is to say, «to write works and disseminate knowledge». In order to realise this aim and to find means of benefiting from the opportunities offered by a higher education, he moved to Istanbul, probably in 1672. He succeeded in entering one of the Fatih Medreses, and he spent twelve years in a student hostel. At the Fatih medrese he obtained all the advantages offered by a higher education, being instructed by most eminent and learned scholars of the Ottoman world. He specialized in Islamic law, the interpretation of the Holy Qur'an (Tefsir) and the interpretation of traditions by the Prophet (Hadish); he also attended some lectures on mathematics. His education lasted twelve years, but he stayed in Istanbul for sixteen years, and was married during this period (MS. 266 a-b). After completing his education he sat for an examination, usually set for all similar applicants, in order to obtain a post for a *kadilik* (judgeship). According to his own account, the manner he adopted when answering the questions was so rude that, although he succeeded in passing the examination, he lost the chance of being appointed *kadi* (judge) in the city of Athens, where there was a vacancy at the time (MS. 267 a). He liked Athens and its people very much indeed after a while, and served there for a period of twenty-seven years. His appointment to Athens took place in 1688<sup>2</sup>, when the city was under siege by the Venetians who eventually occupied it for six months<sup>3</sup>.

He began his career after the Venetian occupation and held his post until the year 1715, when the Ottomans set out to regain the Morea from the Venetians. It is through the official documents of the time that we are able to learn the author's name. According to one document<sup>4</sup>, dated 10th September 1713 (Sha'ban 19, 1125 Hegira), the name of the *kadi* (judge) of Athens is mentioned as Mahmud Efendi. He was appointed to supervise an endowment (*evkaf*), established by Ali Pasha in Nauplia (Anabolu), after the capture of the city from the Venetians.

2. His predecessor in the *kadilik* of Athens was probably Abdullah Efendi (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, İbnü'l-emin tasnifi-Evkaf kısmı, No. 478, 29th January, 1697).

3. The Venetians besieged the city in February (the 11th), 1688 (Venetian occupation of Athens, 1687-1688, *Istoria di Cristoforo Ivanovich*, edited by James Morton Paton, Cambridge 1940, p. 39). The Ottoman sources - Rashid and Salikhdar - do not give the date.

4. Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, İbnülemin tasnifi-Evkaf kısmı, No 7393.

This Ali Pasha happened to be the Grand Vizier and the commander-in-chief of the Ottoman army in the Morea. In spite of his responsibilities as *kadi* of Athens (MS.2a), Mahmud Efendi was able to carry out this additional function in a very successfully manner, and in 1738 he was living in Nauplia under the protection of Mehmed Pasha, Muhsin-zâde, who was later appointed Grand Vizier<sup>5</sup>. Mahmud Efendi was probably *kadi* of Nauplia, the seat of administration of the province of the Morea, at the time.

According to his own statement, Mahmud Efendi translated some works from Arabic into Turkish, such as *Tuhfetü'l-tüccar* and *Tuhfetü'l-guzât* in the year 1710, when he was *kadi* of Athens, but he does not name the authors whose works he translated. It is not possible to follow the course of the later part of his life (after 1738), as there is no further reference to him in the sources. In the bibliographical<sup>6</sup> and biographical<sup>7</sup> works there is no mention of either *Târikk-i Medînetü'l-hukemâ* or its author. Nor, in fact do his translations seem to exist in Turkish libraries.

Mahmud Efendi began to write the History of Athens, that is to say *Târikk-i Medînetü'l-hukemâ*, in 1714-1715. He first tried to identify the references and collate material for his work. Two priests in Athens helped to obtain information about the ancient and mediaeval history of Greece. According to Mahmud Efendi, one of them was the head of a religious association comprising four hundred churches and ten monasteries<sup>8</sup>. The prelate in question was probably an archbishop<sup>9</sup>. His name and that of the other priest were Kolari (or Kolarides) and Sotirides (MS 2.a.). The sources used by Mahmud Efendi for the ancient and mediaeval history of Athens were written in Greek, Latin and other languages. The two priests translated the sources into modern Greek for him before the year 1714, and another man, probably a Greek, whose name is not mentioned by the author, translated the works from modern Greek into Turkish. Mahmud Efendi first corrected the Turkish translation made by the Greek, and then used it for his work (Ms.4.a.).

5. He held this post twice (in 1765-68 and 1771-74).

6. Bağdadlı İsmail Paşa, *Kesfü'z-zunûn zeyli*, vols. I-II, Istanbul 1947.

7. Bursalı Tahir, *Osmanlı muellifleri*, vols. I-III, Istanbul 1333-1342.

8. «in or about Athens were 200 Greek churches (most of which have been Temples) but not one quarter of them were used between 1671-1679» (see B. Randolph, *The Present State of the Morea*, London 1686, p. 23).

9. The Archbishop of Athens lived in a house in the south-west part of the town (B. Randolph, *ibid.*, p. 22).

Although he began to write his work, *Târih-i Medînetü'l-hukemâ*, after 1714-1715, he did not find an opportunity to complete it, on account of the Turco-Venetian war in 1715, and because he afterwards paid two visits to Istanbul and made a pilgrimage to Mecca. It seems, however, that he kept a draft copy for himself. It was only after 1738, when encouraged by Mehmed Pasha, Muhsin-zâde, the governor of the fortresses of Nauplia, who later became Grand Vizier, that he succeeded in completing *Târih-i Medînetü'l-hukemâ*.

The only extant manuscript is in the Revan Library in Topkapı Saray Museum (No. 1411). The 291 pages of this work can be divided into three parts:

1. A history of Athens, the island of Euboea and the Morea.
2. A history of these localities during the Ottoman period.
3. Special information regarding the condition of ancient Greek monuments in the city of Athens between 1688 and 1715. The author provides some details about Greek architectural monuments. These references were undoubtedly very important for scholars who happened to be interested in them<sup>10</sup>.

Pages 8.a-245.b of *Târih-i medînetü'ül hukemâ* deal with the foundation of Athens, the old city and the Athenian city-state, as well as the period of Alexander the Great and his successors and the Roman and Byzantine periods. From p. 245 to the end of the work (MS. 291 b) the author covers the Turkish period. The manuscript ends in 1715. When describing certain events in the history of Athens, it should be noted that Mahmud Efendi makes several references to Istanbul. For instance, accounts about the building of the city of Istanbul and the Church of St. Sophia among others occupy a considerable portion of the work.

Although Mahmud Efendi used the sources translated by Kolarides and Sotirides regarding ancient and mediaeval history, he also mentions historians from whom he did not directly borrow material. The historians whom he mentions are Thucydides, Plutarch and Diodorus. He does, not, however, make any reference to the names of minor Latin writers (MS. 4. a-b.). His reference to «some French sources» remains obscure. One of these references, for instance, concerns Alexander the Great, whose reign is dealt with in the works of Moslem historians, such as Ibn Asakir (1105-1176), Ibn Kesir (1301-1373) (MS. 205. b). On cer-

10. For the descriptions of Turkish Athens see James Morton Paton, *Chapters on Mediaeval and Renaissance visitors to Greek Lands*, Princeton-New Jersey 1951, p. 3-19, 36-73, 155-172.



tain other points he also consults the *Tefsîr* of Ebu's-Suud, the Grand Mufti (1490-1574) and the *Tefsîr* of Kadi Keyza (? -1291).

*Menakib-i Mahmud Pasa*, an anonymous work written towards the end of the 15th century and the work of Lâmiî Çelebi (1472-1532)<sup>11</sup> on the Ottoman-Venetian war during the reign of Bayazıt II are used for the Turkish period. Works by 16th century Ottoman historians could also be added to this list. But unexpectedly, without following a chronological order in the description of events, the author jumps forward to the end of Mehmet IV's reign (1648-1687) — more precisely, to the year 1687, when Mehmet IV was dethroned and the Venetians occupied Athens. Henceforward, the author, being a witness of events that occurred in Athens, Euboea and the Morea until 1715, gives a personal account of them. The Turkish period occupies one sixth of the whole manuscript (p. 245-291). In this section the manuscript contains descriptions of the siege of Athens by the Venetians, the destruction of the Parthenon (MS. 262. a), the recapture of Athens by the Ottomans and the struggle waged by the Ottomans between 1688 and 1699 to recapture territories under Venetian occupation (MS. 262. a-266.a). From that point until the end of the work the author deals with the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1715. Consequently, this section is more detailed and contains more original information than is found in the special chronicles (*Vekayi-names*) about the Morea<sup>12</sup>.

In conclusion, *Târih-i Medînetü'l-hukemâ* is of interest to scholars for the following reasons:

1. While serving as a Turkish *kadi* in Athens, Mahmud Efendi developed an interest in the history of the city and produced a work covering the entire period until his own times;
2. For the description of the condition of the ancient Greek architectural monuments of the city during the period 1688-1715;
3. Because the author's description of events during the period 1688-1715 constitutes an eye-witness account and may therefore be regarded as an invaluable source of information.

One final comment: the manuscript is not complete, owing to the loss of a number of pages.

[Pl. XLVI — XLIX].

11. In the tailpiece to the translation of *Şevahidü'n-Nübüvve* (MS. 257. b). This work was originally written in Persian by Molla Câmi (1414-1492).

12. Nadir, *Fetih-nâme-i Mora*; Vâhid Mahtûmî, *Mora Fetih-nâmesi* (See Sevin Ungün, *Vâhid Mahtûmî ve Mora Fetih-namesi*, «Tarih Dergisi» 20 (1965), p. 101-116, 21 (1966), p. 63-76, 22 (1968), p. 169-180). The reconquest of the Morea by the Ottomans in 1715 is described in these works.

ما یرید و ما بشا حضرت لری الولد ستر فی ستر لری  
 و اوصاف حسنه مستحسنة بی ذات جلیل لری  
 بالجملة جامع اولوب حلیه علم و عمل ابله مجلا  
 زار استه و زیور ادا ب و معارف بر له مرکا ●  
 و پیر استه و عقل کیاسته فلاحون و ارسطو  
 اسما و نظام عالم مملکت و تدبیر سیاسته  
 مشیرانه همتا اولمغین هر لیتنوی الذین  
 لا یعلمون ● مفروم و منیعنه عالم اولمغله  
 هر شینک جهلندن علقی ترجیح ایدوب طبع  
 مشیرانه لریته اولی الالباب تصعبه سی ●  
 ماصدق اولمغله قصص ام لغت و معارض اتم  
 مخالفی واقعاتی نیجه عجایب و غرائبی شامل  
 و انواع عبرتیهات و منتقاه مشتمل اولوب ●  
 لقد کان فی قصصهم عبرة لا ولی الالباب حلیه  
 لطیفه عارف اولمغین بو حقیر پز قصیری  
 مجلس اصفا نلریه محرم ایدوب و نظم پندنی شامل  
 ام سالفه حکایاتنه ما بل و بو عمدا داعبلریه  
 فزوقه ماضیه حکایات لری غیر و تفصیلنه اذنه  
 مساعده بیور المغین ثنا کارد و لغت و اهاری

دخی پرورده درون خلوص مخصوص اولان  
 ادعیه بی غایه اداسی بی افتد علی البضاعه  
 عسیر الاستعمال اولان اصطلاحات عمیه  
 عاری و معقدا اولان الفاظ غیریه دن  
 سنونیه قلان اتنه نوار یخندک محفوظ اولان  
 بعض حکایات بر عری یقیر مردن خط منور  
 اولوب سنوید زوری تبیض ابله فرمایور  
 بو ناجیز فقیر الادا و قیل البضاعه پندگ اتقا  
 مشیرانه لرندک و فرمان و نجبا الامتثال لرندک  
 قدر و اقتدار حاصل اولوب گوشه نشینانه  
 مطوی اولان اتنه نوار یخنی تشویک تبیضنه  
 مباشرت اولندی لکن الطاف علمه و وزیرانه  
 و اعطاف جلیله مشیرانه دن رجا و نیاز  
 و مستول و ندر که هر عیب که سلطان به  
 بسند هزیت ماصدقنه ارجاع بیور یله  
 و بلجه ذلالت و قصور و کسر و صحفه  
 عیب دن محو بیور یله و عین عنایت نظر جلیله  
 حسن قبول ابله مقبوله فرین بیور یله بو غیر  
 پر تقصیر و فتوی و وعظ مسلم اولوب علم حکا

دخی پرور

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
 الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلاة والسلام  
 على رسولنا محمد وآله وأصحابه أجمعين  
 وبعد بوفيقير كحفيرو عبد كذير التقصير  
 قليل البصاحة المبتلى بفتكاته دأما اولاد باير  
 عربك ائينه عيبه سنه ناخر وباقي اولان اناز قوما  
 متفكر اولوب و باخضول تنه ديار نسمه اولان  
 مدینه صلح كمانی اقضا ایدر كه ديار مزبور مفرحكا  
 قدما اوله وحالا موجود اولان اناز بالرك باسبرك  
 راصلاتك فله عظام اوله و بو ذر جليل الاعتماده  
 تعلم و تعلم علم حكمت ایدن مشاهركا دن مكل اوله  
 دأما ضمیر فقیره بولحوال جا بكر اولوب اسلام قلاتند  
 ديارند و مرور ایدن صلح فتح اولان علمادن و ارباب  
 عرفای اهل اسلام كسنه سطیح بر بیضك ایدر  
 تواریح افریخ و بون و لاطین و ترك و سانسارند و بجه  
 سلك تقرر كورون تدوین اتمدیلر فكر مزبور كیدر  
 غیر و متوج ایل اولوب روند مضر اولان خلی قاله

كوزو

كوزو ب سك بوز بكری بی سال فرجند  
 قال لینه ديارند حالا موجود اولان در تیزون  
 كینسا و اون مناسنر با باز و راهبر ر نیسای  
 اولان با قولاری و با با سوتور اسلام ر نیسای  
 اولان ره بانلر السنه افریخ و بونان و لاطین  
 و رومی تار بچلرند و اقع اننه توار بخرینه توغل  
 و علم و معرفتلی تام اولمغین فقیر بیخی تنه توجی  
 سورکی سنا ترجمه اتمك لیچون مزبور راهبری  
 ترجمه ابدك و مسفور لك السمان نعه و اقع  
 اننه توار بچلرندن خبر و یرد كبری اخباری فقیر بیخی  
 ترجمه ایدر و سوبدا خرا اولد قده مور سفیری دخی كفا  
 اولوب سفیر مزبور غایله سندن واجال واسطه سبله  
 كوشنه نسیانك ترك اولسوكا خج شریف كاه اسلام  
 سفیری بیضنه مانع اولوب سلك بوز الی سنا خج  
 او اخرندك انا بول قلعه سیح حافظه سنه تعین سوز  
 وزیرلی نظیر كه دأما مذر بر و رای صاف سر  
 و فی الكرم علی الهم بر مكله خاند نشیم وزیر این وزیر  
 محمد پاشا بن صدارت عظما شریفیه شره فی اقد  
 اولان محسن زاده عبدالله پایشر الله تكل الله ما

ایدوب و بعد استازیه دخول ایدوب و قزیه دار  
 استخاره اعان سلیمان علیه السلام قتل ایدوب و غنندند  
 قضا با شاه محمد اعان و در اول اسمعیل افندی و سنجی اسرار  
 باشای ورود سنده و غیر بایره سفک دم بیده هلوب  
 عبادی محرق قلبی و جمعی قلوب ناسند عیبی  
 مرفوع اولوب و چون شنگی فرمانبری اطراف و کتافه  
 منتشر قلوب و حاصل مرشاه اولوب و کور فوس ایچون  
 دننا حکم تدارک اولوب و کور فوس سهری لک ناسند  
 متداول آیین موره فتحی شنگی ایچون نمچه سیر کیدن  
 فها و مولده انکروس قرالی محظوظ اولوب زیاره  
 شنگ اتدی دیو طبع صاحب دولت کونوب و اجفر  
 او ضاع لرخی ایواد اولوب و کور فوس سهریه قره  
 مصطفی بایر عسکر ایدوب و دننمای کور فیه ارسال  
 ایدوب و عظیم غرور تر تو ایله انکروس و زرنیه پرشاه  
 سفر ایدوب و ارباب دولتک انکروس دشمنی نقد  
 قوی دشمن اولدغی بیلنر و هسارت ایدو نمچه  
 قوی دشمن دینی کیم ایدوب و اشعاع اتمیوب و لغزاد  
 التذن فرشو کلسون دیو سوبیلیری مخصوص بیزند  
 غزلا ایدوب و زین باق کجوب و کال غرورندک بالکنو

کس واقع اولوب و کند و فراد اتمیوب شهید اولدو رحمة  
 الله علیه شویله برغر تلی حری و جسور وزیر براناز  
 انصاف جمعی عالمه سوء ظنی غالب و کند و زانی و عقلین  
 لکوب کسندک زابله حرکت اتمیزی و سوره سر صاف فتح  
 اولدغندک کند و برغر و کبر عظیم حاکم اولوب و غایت  
 مرعشتر و سفاک اولدو غنندک قلوب ناسندک عیبی رفع  
 اولوب جمله عالمه کون استعدا ایدوب و چون کور فوس  
 و شکر خصی مولد در رب العالمین اولامو ایتمال اضفا  
 و محرق القلوب دعالرینی قبول ایدوبی زبر اقل مرتبه  
 بروزیری قتل ایدو که بیک جا تو ایچو اولاد و انساب لر  
 اولوزیر قوموندک انتفا ایدو لریدی اول انتفاع منقطع  
 اولدقده جمله سنک انکساری محقق دالبه ایچلرند  
 بر قلبی محرق بولنور دعاسه قبول اولور و محرم شهید علی  
 باشای غایت مفرور ایدک بوندک اقدام و حیرانه  
 جهانکدر سلطنا نکره بری استانبول فاتحی اولامو فاتح  
 اکبر سلطان محمد بو سلطان مراد قاور بری دخی سلطان  
 اولیا سلطنا بایزید بن سلطنا محمد خان و بری غنجه  
 سلطنا سلو طغر سلطان سلیمان بر سلطنا صاحب قران  
 سلطنا طاهر تراهم التی بش سنده هر بری بر اولدو

عسا که عظمه ایلده مورده بکروب و با بجهله مورده  
 فتح ایده میورده بر بری قصور بر اغویب مشند و وندیک  
 کفره سه القمانک غایت غایتله بیه وقتند مورده بوتر  
 بولش کوجله بش سنده فتح اتشددر علی پاشا ابله لاج  
 اوج ای مورده دروننده در و مظه با بجهله مورده بفتح الیم  
 دیونقده کبر و غروره مبتلا اولدیکه اخر الکرندیک  
 هلاک اولوب عالی انواع و الکر فانی ایلده موجود مکال  
 اولدغندن بوبله مهلاک اولاکر و غروره مبتلی اولدی  
 و الامت بصر و اهلا کمال اولسه انادلیل و اطراف نهاره  
 انواع محروم شکر لرا ایدوب تواضع خیره و رحمته متزایا بلیکده  
 مرادهم مماله ایلدله نضیعتدر بوضه جهوم نیم ولی نعم  
 اقدیم ایدی و حالاه سنه بر رختم شریفه و همچون او قورم  
 اول ارحم الراحمین اولک موله نصیر اتک عضو ایدوب جنان  
 و دیدارک نصیب و نصیبه ایلدیه آمین و فوتنلن صکره جهوملا  
 وزارتلر خصوصنده اتد بفتح استر مضمیل اولمیش و الله  
 اعلم بسی حق اوزره اولدغندن کثرت اوزره و زارتلر بیدل  
 اولندی و حالاه جهوملا غضب و کر و غلظتی سبب اولوب  
 جمله حاله رحمت اوزره در الله ذوالجلال و اجمال جمله تک عاقبتنه  
 خیر الیختم ایلدیه و نه خیر عاقبتیری خیر الیختم ایلدیه

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE  
DES ÉTUDES DU SUD-EST EUROPÉEN

# ACTES

DU II<sup>e</sup> CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL  
DES ÉTUDES DU SUD-EST EUROPÉEN

(Athènes, 7—13 mai 1970)

TOME II  
HISTOIRE

TIRAGE A PART

GENGİZ ORHONLU

THE HISTORY OF ATHENS  
(TÂRIKH-I MEDİNETÜ'L-HUKEMÂ)  
WRITTEN BY A TURKISH KADI

ATHÈNES 1972

THÈME - CADRE 2 :

VILLE ET CAMPAGNE DANS LE SUD-EST EUROPÉEN  
DEPUIS L'ANTIQUITÉ JUSQU'À LA FIN DU XIX<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE  
(ASPECTS SOCIAUX, ÉCONOMIQUES ET CULTURELS)

---

## II. COMMUNICATIONS

GENGİZ ORHONLU

Turkey

THE HISTORY OF ATHENS  
(TÂRIKH - I MEDÎNETÜ'L - HUKEMÂ)  
WRITTEN BY A TURKISH KADI

Ottoman historiography has been divided into different sections, one of which is concerned with the history of cities: in other words, urban historiography. More than one history has been written about cities like Istanbul, Bursa, Edirne, Amasya, Konya, Isparta, Belgrade, Baghdad, Aleppo, etc. When the work of classification in Turkish libraries has been more or less completed, a further number of works are likely to be brought to light. A manuscript about the city of Athens was recently discovered at the Library of Topkapi Saray Museum (Revan, No. 1411)<sup>1</sup>. It bears the title of *Târih-i Medînetü'l hukemâ*, an English translation of which reads «The History of the City of Wise Men». This designation has been repeatedly quoted by mediaeval Moslem historians in references to the city of Athens. The work was composed in the Ottoman period — after the year 1738.

While describing some details about his personal life, the author of this work does not unfortunately mention his name. He originally belonged to a family which lived in Thebes (Istefe) and the island of Euboea (Egriboz). When he was officially appointed *kadi* of Athens, his family were still living in Euboea (MS. 267). He began his education under the guidance of learned members of his family — an education that was nevertheless inadequate in comparison with the corresponding standard of education prevailing in Istanbul. According to the author,

---

1. This work was published with a short commentary (Topkai Sarayi Müzesi kütüphanesi Türkçe yazmalar katalogü, Istanbul 1961, Vol. I. p. 326) by Fehmi Ethem Karatay, who mistakenly believed *Târih-i Medînetü'l'Hukemi* to be a translation. The author of *Târih-i-Medinetül'-Hukema*, however, states (p. 2a, 8a, 127a, 147a, 229b, etc.) that his work is a compilation, except the last section (MS. 262 b-291) which is an eye-witness account by the author.



the ultimate aim of education must be «to spread knowledge», that is to say, «to write works and disseminate knowlege». In order to realise this aim and to find means of benefiting from the opportunities offered by a higher education, he moved to Istanbul, probably in 1672. He succeeded in entering one of the Fatih Medreses, and he spent twelve years in a student hostel. At the Fatih medrese he obtained all the advantages offered by a higher education, being instructed by most eminent and learned scholars of the Ottoman world. He specialized in Islamic law, the interpretation of the Holy Qur'an (Tefsir) and the interpretation of traditions by the Prophet (Hadish); he also attended some lectures on mathematics. His education lasted twelve years, but he stayed in Istanbul for sixteen years, and was married during this period (MS. 266 a-b). After completing his education he sat for an examination, usually set for all similar applicants, in order to obtain a post for a *kadilik* (judgeship). According to his own account, the manner he adopted when answering the questions was so rude that, although he succeeded in passing the examination, he lost the chance of being appointed *kadi* (judge) in the city of Athens, where there was a vacancy at the time (MS. 267 a). He liked Athens and its people very much indeed after a while, and served there for a period of twenty-seven years. His appointment to Athens took place in 1688<sup>2</sup>, when the city was under siege by the Venetians who eventually occupied it for six months<sup>3</sup>.

He began his career after the Venetian occupation and held his post until the year 1715, when the Ottomans set out to regain the Morea from the Venetians. It is through the official documents of the time that we are able to learn the author's name. According to one document<sup>4</sup>, dated 10th September 1713 (Sha'ban 19, 1125 Hegira), the name of the *kadi* (judge) of Athens is mentioned as Mahmud Efendi. He was appointed to supervise an endowment (*evkaf*), established by Ali Pasha in Nauplia (Anadolu), after the capture of the city from the Venetians.

---

2. His predecessor in the *kadilik* of Athens was probably Abdullah Efendi (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, İbnü'l-emin tasnifi-Evkaf kısmı, No. 478, 29th January, 1697).

3. The Venetians besieged the city in February (the 11th), 1688 (Venetian occupation of Athens, 1687-1688, *Istoria di Cristoforo Ivanovich*, edited by James Morton Paton, Cambridge 1940, p. 39). The Ottoman sources - Rashid and Salikhdar - do not give the date.

4. Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, İbnulemin tasnifi-Evkaf kısmı, No 7393.

This Ali Pasha happened to be the Grand Vizier and the commander-in-chief of the Ottoman army in the Morea. In spite of his responsibilities as *kadi* of Athens (MS.2a), Mahmud Efendi was able to carry out this additional function in a very successfully manner, and in 1738 he was living in Nauplia under the protection of Mehmed Pasha, Muhsinzâde, who was later appointed Grand Vizier<sup>5</sup>. Mahmud Efendi was probably *kadi* of Nauplia, the seat of administration of the province of the Morea, at the time.

According to his own statement, Mahmud Efendi translated some works from Arabic into Turkish, such as *Tuhfetü'l-tüccar* and *Tuhfetü'l-guzât* in the year 1710, when he was *kadi* of Athens, but he does not name the authors whose works he translated. It is not possible to follow the course of the later part of his life (after 1738), as there is no further reference to him in the sources. In the bibliographical<sup>6</sup> and biographical<sup>7</sup> works there is no mention of either *Târikh-i Medînetü'l-hukemâ* or its author. Nor, in fact do his translations seem to exist in Turkish libraries.

Mahmud Efendi began to write the History of Athens, that is to say *Târikh-i Medînetü'l-hukemâ*, in 1714-1715. He first tried to identify the references and collate material for his work. Two priests in Athens helped to obtain information about the ancient and mediaeval history of Greece. According to Mahmud Efendi, one of them was the head of a religious association comprising four hundred churches and ten monasteries<sup>8</sup>. The prelate in question was probably an archbishop<sup>9</sup>. His name and that of the other priest were Kolari (or Kolarides) and Sotirides (MS 2.a.). The sources used by Mahmud Efendi for the ancient and mediaeval history of Athens were written in Greek, Latin and other languages. The two priests translated the sources into modern Greek for him before the year 1714, and another man, probably a Greek, whose name is not mentioned by the author, translated the works from modern Greek into Turkish. Mahmud Efendi first corrected the Turkish translation made by the Greek, and then used it for his work (Ms.4.a.).

5. He held this post twice (in 1765-68 and 1771-74).

6. Bagdadli Ismail Paşa, *Kesfü'z-zunûn zeyli*, vols. I-II, Istanbul 1947.

7. Bursali Tahir, *Osmanli muellifleri*, vols. I-III, Istanbul 1333-1342.

8. «in or about Athens were 200 Greek churches (most of which have been Temples) but not one quarter of them were used between 1671-1679» (see B. Randolph, *The Present State of the Morea*, London 1686, p. 23).

9. The Archbishop of Athens lived in a house in the south-west part of the town (B. Randolph, *ibid.*, p. 22).

Although he began to write his work, *Târikk-i Medînetü'l-hukemâ*, after 1714-1715, he did not find an opportunity to complete it, on account of the Turco-Venetian war in 1715, and because he afterwards paid two visits to Istanbul and made a pilgrimage to Mecca. It seems, however, that he kept a draft copy for himself. It was only after 1738, when encouraged by Mehmed Pasha, Muhsin-zâde, the governor of the fortresses of Nauplia, who later became Grand Vizier, that he succeeded in completing *Târikk-i Medînetü'l-hukemâ*.

The only extant manuscript is in the Revan Library in Topkapi Saray Museum (No. 1411). The 291 pages of this work can be divided into three parts:

1. A history of Athens, the island of Euboea and the Morea.
2. A history of these localities during the Ottoman period.
3. Special information regarding the condition of ancient Greek monuments in the city of Athens between 1688 and 1715. The author provides some details about Greek architectural monuments. These references were undoubtedly very important for scholars who happened to be interested in them<sup>10</sup>.

Pages 8.a-245.b of *Târikk-i medînetü'il hukemâ* deal with the foundation of Athens, the old city and the Athenian city-state, as well as the period of Alexander the Great and his successors and the Roman and Byzantine periods. From p. 245 to the end of the work (MS. 291 b) the author covers the Turkish period. The manuscript ends in 1715. When describing certain events in the history of Athens, it should be noted that Mahmud Efendi makes several references to Istanbul. For instance, accounts about the building of the city of Istanbul and the Church of St. Sophia among others occupy a considerable portion of the work.

Although Mahmud Efendi used the sources translated by Kolari-des and Sotirides regarding ancient and mediaeval history, he also mentions historians from whom he did not directly borrow material. The historians whom he mentions are Thucydides, Plutarch and Diodorus. He does, not, however, make any reference to the names of minor Latin writers (MS. 4. a-b.). His reference to «some French sources» remains obscure. One of these references, for instance, concerns Alexander the Great, whose reign is dealt with in the works of Moslem historians, such as Ibn Asakir (1105-1176), Ibn Kesir (1301-1373) (MS. 205. b). On cer-

10. For the descriptions of Turkish Athens see James Morton Paton, *Chapters on Mediaeval and Renaissance visitors to Greek Lands*, Princeton-New Jersey 1951, p. 3-19, 36-73, 155-172.

tain other points he also consults the *Tefsîr* of Ebu's-Suud, the Grand Mufti (1490-1574) and the *Tefsîr* of Kadi Keyza (? -1291).

*Menakib-i Mahmud Pasa*, an anonymous work written towards the end of the 15th century and the work of Lâmiî Çelebi (1472-1532)<sup>11</sup> on the Ottoman-Venetian war during the reign of Bayazıt II are used for the Turkish period. Works by 16th century Ottoman historians could also be added to this list. But unexpectedly, without following a chronological order in the description of events, the author jumps forward to the end of Mehmet IV's reign (1648-1687) — more precisely, to the year 1687, when Mehmet IV was dethroned and the Venetians occupied Athens. Henceforward, the author, being a witness of events that occurred in Athens, Euboea and the Morea until 1715, gives a personal account of them. The Turkish period occupies one sixth of the whole manuscript (p. 245-291). In this section the manuscript contains descriptions of the siege of Athens by the Venetians, the destruction of the Parthenon (MS. 262. a), the recapture of Athens by the Ottomans and the struggle waged by the Ottomans between 1688 and 1699 to recapture territories under Venetian occupation (MS. 262. a-266.a). From that point until the end of the work the author deals with the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1715. Consequently, this section is more detailed and contains more original information than is found in the special chronicles (*Vekayi-names*) about the Morea<sup>12</sup>.

In conclusion, *Târih-i Medinetü'l-hukemâ* is of interest to scholars for the following reasons:

1. While serving as a Turkish *kadi* in Athens, Mahmud Efendi developed an interest in the history of the city and produced a work covering the entire period until his own times;

2. For the description of the condition of the ancient Greek architectural monuments of the city during the period 1688-1715;

3. Because the author's description of events during the period 1688-1715 constitutes an eye-witness account and may therefore be regarded as an invaluable source of information.

One final comment: the manuscript is not complete, owing to the loss of a number of pages.

[Pl. XLVI — XLIX].

11. In the tailpiece to the translation of *Şevahidü'n-Nübüve* (MS. 257. b). This work was originally written in Persian by Molla Câmi (1414-1492).

12. Nadir, *Fetih-nâme-i Mora*; Vâhid Mahtûmî, *Mora Fetih-nâmesi* (See Sevin Ungün, *Vâhid Mahtûmî ve Mora Fetih-namesi*, «Tarih Dergesi» 20 (1965), p. 101-116, 21 (1966), p. 63-76, 22 (1968), p. 169-180). The reconquest of the Morea by the Ottomans in 1715 is described in these works.

دخی پرورده درون خلوص مخصوص اولان  
 ادعیه بی غایر اداسی سیاقند علی البصاعه  
 عسیر الاستعلا اولان اصطلاحات عجیبه  
 عاری و معقد اولان الفاظ غیره دن  
 تشوید قلان اتنه نوار بخند محفوض اولان  
 بعض حکایات بر عربی تقریر مدح خط مشهور  
 اولوب تشوید زبوری تبیض ابله و فیما یورید  
 بونا جیز قصیر الادا و قبیل البصاعه بیژگانقا  
 مشیرانه لرنند و فرمان و جبا الامتثال لرنند  
 قدر و اقتدار حاصل اولوب گوشه نشینانه  
 مطوی اولان اتنه نوار بخند تشوید تبیضنه  
 مباشرت اولندی لکن الطاف علیه وزیرانه  
 و اعطاف جلیله مشیرانه دن رجا و نیاز  
 و مستول و ندر که هر عیب که سلطان به  
 بسند هزیت ماصدقنه ارجاع بیوریله  
 و بلبله ذلالت و قصور و کسور و صحفه  
 عیب دن محو بیوریله و عین عنایت نظر جلیلانه  
 حسن قبول ابله مقبوله فزین بیوریله بویتر  
 بر تفصیح فتوی و وعظ مسلک اولوب علم کما

مایرد و مباشرت لری الولد سترانی شرعی  
 و اوصاف حسنه مستحبه بی ذات جلیله لرنه  
 ایله جامع اولوب جلیله علم و عمل ابله بخلا  
 و راسته و زیور ادا و معارف برله مزکا ●  
 و پیراسته و عقل کیاسته فلاطون و ارسطو  
 اسان نظام عالم مملکتده و تدبیر سیاسته  
 مشیرانه همتا اولغین قل یستوی الذین  
 لا یعلمون ● مفزوم و منیعنه عالم اولغله  
 هر شیک جملندن خلق ترجیح ایدوب طبع  
 مشیرانه لرنه اولی الالباب تصعبه بی ●  
 ماصدقا اولغله قضص ام لفتا و معارض انام  
 مخالفی واقعاتی نتیجه عجایب و غرائب شامل  
 و انواع عیضیات و متفکک مشتمل اولوب ●  
 لقد کان فی قصصهم عبرة لاولی الالباب عیضیه  
 لطیفه عارف اولغین بو حقیر برتقصیری  
 مجلس اصفا نلرنه محرم ایدوب و نضم پندگی مرا  
 ام سالغله حکایاتنه مابل و بو عید دا عیله  
 فزوقه ماضیه حکایات لری تقریر و تفصیل لرنه  
 مساعده بیور المغین ثنا کارد و لخواه لری

بی پرور

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
 الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلوة والسلام  
 على رسولنا محمد وآله واصحابه اجمعين  
 وبعد بوفقر بحفيرة وعبد كبير التقصير  
 قليل البضاعة المبتلى بفتنة دنا وندبار  
 عبرك امينة عجيبه سنه ناظر وبق اولان اثاره  
 متفكر ولوب و باجضهر اننه دياره تسمه اولان  
 مدينه حكمانى اقتضايه ديكه دياره بوز مفرحكا  
 قدما اوله وحالا موجود اولان اثاره بركه باشتار  
 به اصله قدره عظم اوله و بوز بجليل الاعتباره  
 تعلم وتعلم علم حكمت ايند مشاهركه دان مكر اوله  
 داتما ضمير فقيره بولحوال چا يكر اولوب اسلام قداست  
 ديارنده مروه ايند صلح فتوح اولان علمان وارباب  
 عرفاي اهل اسلامك سنه سطح بجز بقتك ايدك  
 نوار بخر فخر و بكون و لاهلين و روك نسا نركه بجز  
 سلك تقرر كوزون تدوين اتمديل فكر بوز كيدك  
 غير و حنج ايب اولوب رونده مضمر اولان اهل قالد

كوزون

كوزون سلك بوز كوزون بدي سلك فرحنده  
 قال اننه دياره حالا موجود اولان در تيون  
 كيشا و اون مناسنر با باز و راهبر ريسدي  
 اولان با قولاري و با با سوكه اسهل لينسيه  
 اولان ره باندر السنه افرخ و يونان و لاهلين  
 و روي ناز بجزنده واقع اننه نوار بجز نيه نونخل  
 و علم و معرفتري اتم اولعين فقير بيخي تونجوي  
 سوزكي سلك ترجمه اتمك ليجون فزور راهبري  
 ترجمه ابلدك و مسفور لك السماز بعه واقع  
 اننه نوار بجز نونك خبر و بيرد كبري اخباري فقير بدي  
 ترجمه ايدك و سويلا خرا ولد قد مور سغري بدي كيشا  
 اولوب سغري بوز غايله سندن و اجال واسطه سيله  
 كوشنه نسيانده ترك اولونكا خج شريف كه اسل بدي  
 سغري بيمينه مانع اولوب سلك بوز الي سلك بدي  
 اوخرنده انا بولي قلعه سيج حافظه سنه تعين سوز  
 وزير بدي نظيره داتما مديبر و راي صاف سر  
 و في الكرم على الهمم بدي و خاتمه نشيم وزير اين وزير  
 محمد باشا بن صدارت عظماء شريفه شره ميا فده  
 اولان محسن زاده عبدالله بايستر الله تكللهم

ایدوب و بعد استانیه دخول ایدوب و قریه دار  
 استخوان اطایه ایله قتل ایدوب و خدیند  
 قضا باشه عداغایه و داو اول اسمیل افندی و سنجی اسمیل  
 باشایه و رود سده و غیر بلیره سفک دم ایله قلوب  
 عیادی محرق قلدری و جمیع قلوب ناسده معینی  
 مرفوع اولوب و سوره شنگلی فرمانلری اطراف و کتافه  
 منتشر قلوب و حاصل مرثا اولوب و کورفس ایچون  
 دنغنا حکم تدارک اولوب و کورفس سفری لیک ناسده  
 متداول ایکن سوره فتحی شنگلی ایچون نجه بریکیدن  
 فها و صولده انکروس قرالی محظوظ اولوب زیانه  
 شنگ اتدی و بو طبع صاحب دولت کر قلوب و بصر  
 اوضاع لرخی ایراد اولوب و کورفس سفرنیه قره  
 مصطفی بایر مرعسکرایدوب و دنمایه کورفسه ارسال  
 ایدوب و عظیم غرور تهر ایله انکروس اوزرینه پریشا  
 سفر ایدوب واریاب دولتک انکروس دشمنی نقدر  
 قوی دشمن اولدغی بیلینلر و جسارت ایدوق نجه  
 قوی دشمندن دینی کفر ایدوب و اسماع اتمیوب و انفراد  
 التذکره فرشو کجسون دوسو بیلینلری منصورلردن  
 غزای ایدوب و زین باقی کعبوب و کال غرورنده کالغزو

کس واقع اولوب و کند و فرا اتمیوب شهید اولد  
 الله علیه شویله بر غیر تلج جری و جسور وزیر یونماز  
 ایچاق جمعی عالمه سوظنی غالب و کند و زای و عخلن  
 بکنوب کس کند زایلده حرکت اتمیزی و سوره سر جافتح  
 اولد غندن کند و بر غرور و کبر عظیم طاری اولوب و غایت  
 مرعش و سفاک اولد و غندن قلوب ناسدن معینی دفع  
 اولوب جمله عالمه هلاک کن استعد ایدوب چونکه منور  
 و تکبر خصمی مولد در برت عالمین اولامو ایستغال ضحفا  
 و محرق القلوب دعا لر یق قبول ایلدی زبر اقل مرتبه  
 بروز بری قتل ایلدیکه بیک جا توابعی اولاد و انساب لر  
 اول وزیر قیوم سندن انتقا ایدر لردی اول انتقا منتقل  
 اولد قد حمله سندن انکساری محققه دالبه ایچلرندن  
 بر قلبی محرق بونورد عاصی قبول اولور و حرم شهید علی  
 باشایه غایت مغرور ایدک بوندت اقدم اوج دانه  
 جهانگیر سلطانلر که بری استا بنول فاقعی اولامو اتح  
 اکبر سلطان محمد بن سلطان ملاذخا و بری رخ سلطان  
 اولیا سلطان بایزید بن سلطان محمد خان و بری غنجه  
 سلطان اسلاطین سلطان سلیمان سلطان صاحب قران  
 سلیم سلطان بترام التی بش سنده مهر بری بر اولما

عساكر عظيمه ايله مورده بيه كروب و باجهله مورده  
 فتح ايله ميوب هر يري قصور براغوب چمشدر و ونديك  
 كره س العثمانك غايت غايله بين وقتنده مورده بوتر  
 بولش كو حله بش سنده فتح اتمشد و عيله پاشا ايله  
 اوج اي مورده در و ننده دور و خله باجهله مورده بفتح ايله  
 ديونقده كبر و غروره مبتلا اولد بلكه اخرا كرا كنديك  
 صلاک اولوب عالمي انواع و اولد كرافت ايله و حرمه مال  
 اولد غندن بويله مهلك اولد كبر و غروره مبتلي اولدي  
 و ايامه بصير و اهلكال اولسه انا دليل و اطراف نهاره  
 انواع محو و شكر ايدوب تواضع ترقه و رحمت مترايد ايليك  
 مراد مطالعه ايندونه نصيحتدر بوضه هجوم نم و تاليم  
 افسند ايدوب وصالا هر نه بر رخنم شريف و همچون او قورم  
 اول ارم الراعين اولامور تفصير اتك عضو ايدوب جنان  
 و بيدار ك نصيب و ستر ايليه آمين و فوتنك مكره حرمه  
 و زارت و خصوصنده اتديني خست لومضيل و ليق و الله  
 اعلم س حق اوزره اولد غندن كشت اوزره و زارت بندا  
 اولندي و حاله حرمه غضب و كبر و غلظت سبب اولد  
 جمله حال رحمت اوزره در اتمه ذوا و جلال حمدنك عاقبتني  
 خير ايلقم ايليه و نيزم و خاقبتر ي خير ايلقم ايليه